20c JUNE 2, 1952

NAZI PRESS REVIVED—page 9

New Republic

CAN TAFT "HIJACK" VICTORY?

Will strong-arm methods in the South mean defeat for Ike?

WILEY—ANOTHER VANDENBERG?

Forsaking isolationism the Wisconsin Senator turns Internationalist

RAID ON PRICE CONTROLS

The story of the co-ordinated campaign to scuttle inflation controls

Articles and Reviews by

Eric Bentley
Alexander Meiklejohn
M. L. Rosenthal
Robert Evett

MAY 2 [illegible] 1952

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

Senator Richard Russell

● Mr. Conn's writeup of Senator Russell in your last issue (*NR*, May 12) is very enlightening and shows the Senator to be one of the masked Republicans of the South who, for their own political safety, call themselves Democrats. It will be a great pity if he is placed on the Democratic ticket in either first or second place.

I do not agree with Mr. Conn's praise for the Senator in his handling of the MacArthur investigation. The inquiry was well carried on, as a whole, but the cowardice shown in failing to make a report to the Senate and the public after the long weeks spent in the inquiry and the expense incurred, can only be ascribed to lack of courage or the desire to make a "deal" with the MacArthur forces. Mr. Conn has certainly shown the Senator's unfitness for any position requiring courage to stand for the public interest. I wonder why, however, he adopts the silly practice of referring to the Civil War as "The War between the States"? There never was a "War between the States." Eleven disloyal states rebelled against the national government, but did not fight as states, but set up a government of their own and fought under its name.

Los Angeles, Calif. FRANK C. REID

An Appeal to the Party Machines

● The vehement and wise demand of Sen. Paul Douglas (*NR*, March 31) "Let the People In" should become a political and parliamentary battlecry for all voters. It is unreasonable that the voice of the people cannot be heard in every state when the names of candidates for the highest national office, the Presidency, are selected. . . .

The citizens want direct Presidential primaries. . . . The introduction of direct Presidential primaries in all states is not the problem of a single party. This social, political and ethical problem concerns all political parties. . . .

Never before have people had such an opportunity to judge Presidential candidates with radio and TV, the candidates almost walk into the living rooms of most American homes. The party machines ought not to close their eyes to the consequences of technological innovations which have often in the past changed the economic and intellectual pattern of peoples' lives. The average man of today has a greater political understanding of the meaning of issues.

There is and always will be a need for a party machine in a political society. But a machine which becomes obsolete in certain cultural phases should diligently and earnestly try for modernization and should not expose itself to basic change. . . .

There is no true obstacle which should hinder the extension of the Presidential primaries over the US. . . . The town meeting area would become a greater geographical and political area. The intellectual viewpoints of the citizens would become wider. The inner value of the voters conscious of the fact that their votes can have not only state, but also national and perhaps global importance will become enhanced. The citizens will feel great satisfaction to have an opportunity of self-expression in such a tremendously important selective voting procedure as the Presidential primaries.

It is not well becoming to a democratic state organization to make a great part of its citizens passive and silent when the selection of Presidential candidates takes place. Citizens who cannot participate in the nominating procedure may look beyond the borderline or still farther and find citizens of the neighboring or more distant states enjoying the privilege of making their votes felt in the Presidential primaries. . . .

It has been demonstrated that there is a universal spiritual need for Presidential primaries in our national life. Some states have already instituted these primaries. The great number of people voting in these primaries manifests the mature and great political mindfulness of those people. In other states the gates of the party house cannot forever block and exclude the people from voting in Presidential primaries. . . .

Cincinnati, Ohio ALFRED DOCTER

Steel Seizure

● President Harry S. Truman's seizure of the steel industry and the government's failure to put over the WSB recommendations have placed the steelworkers in a dilemma. For, though the steelworkers are laboring without the benefit and protection of a contract, their freedom has been affected by the otherwise well-intended Presidential act. The steelworkers respect their government and won't strike against it unless they're driven to such action by external forces.

But the steel industry can exploit the existing conditions for their own advantage and to the detriment of the steelworkers and the government. The industry is presently in a position to drive the steelworkers to strike against the government—an action that would work to the interests of the steel industry since any damage caused by a strike now can be charged to the taxpayers.

This is true of Inland Steel, and Clarence Randall, the company's President, of course, adds to the psychological burden of Inland's workers. It is no wonder, therefore, that two minor walkouts occurred at Inland following the firing of two men. A suitable atmosphere for a strike is there—and if the emotional volcano should erupt without Philip Murray's orders, don't be surprised.

Indiana Harbor, Ind. EMIL IDU

"The Power of Righteousness"

● Hail Justice William O. Douglas on "The Power of Righteousness" (*NR*, April 28). A fixed grim righteous mood is needed. Righteousness is the only force in the world to change human nature. There is no other.

MRS. GEORGE SIMPSON
Santa Barbara, Calif.

● I, too, think that William O. Douglas' article in the *New Republic* is the finest thing I have read in years. It should be in every high school in this country and *must* reading for the growing generation.

Roche Harbor, Wash. F. R. SCOTT

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Grand Old Pauper

Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio, sometimes identified as the candidate preferred by the wealthy, is himself considered only moderately well-to-do, maybe a millionaire, but not a multi-millionaire. – *From the Springfield (Mass.)* Union.

Democracy in Georgia

Wearing a victory smile at his DeKalb County home Thursday, Rep. James C. Davis said he had won an "overwhelming" victory in the Fifth District despite a deficit in popular votes.

"I had to spot my opponent the Negro bloc vote," he said. "When you deduct that from the total, my victory was overwhelming." – *From the Atlanta* Journal.

How's That Again?

He [Henry Green] is not—despite appearances in "Nothing" and "Doting"—a true artificial writer. . . . – *From the* New Yorker.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

CONTENTS FOR JUNE 2, 1952

5 Can Taft Hijack Victory? An Editorial
6 The Week:
6 Railroad Settlement
6 Immigration Defeat
7 Dirt Farmer Kline
7 Actor in a Coonskin Cap
8 Shoveling It Out
8 Libel Unconfidential
8 Retreat From Power
9 The Nazi Press Reappears
10 The Raid on Price Controls, by Matthew K. Amberg
13 Wiley: Another Vandenberg? by Arnold Heidenheimer
15 Public Power's Golden Jubilee, by Jean Begeman and Barrow Lyons
17 Letter From Israel
18 Literature and the Arts:
18 The Modern Shakespeare, V, by Eric Bentley
19 Eugene Gressman reviews *The Spirit of Liberty*, Learned Hand
20 A. Meiklejohn reviews *The Art of Teaching*, Gilbert Highet
20 Rudd Fleming reviews *Essays in Criticism*, E. Jordan
21 M. L. Rosenthal reviews *The Seven-League Crutches*, Randall Jarrell
21 Michael Straight reviews *The Hidden History of the Korean War*, I. F. Stone
22 Three Young Quartets, by Robert Evett

EDITOR: Michael Straight
CHAIRMAN, Editorial Board: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
MANAGING EDITOR: Helen Fuller
LITERARY EDITOR: Robert Richman
REPORTERS: Jean Begeman, Arnold J. Heidenheimer
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Eric Bentley, Malcolm Cowley, Robert Evett
CONTRIBUTING CRITICS: W. H. Auden, Nicola Chiaramonte, Harold Clurman, Dudley Fitts, Kimon Friar, Gerald Johnson, V. O. Key, Max Lerner, Richard Lester, James R. Newman, Kathleen Raine, John Crowe Ransom, Herbert Read, Mark Schorer, James Johnson Sweeney, Robert Penn Warren
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT: F. R. Ruskin
COPY ASSISTANT: Lucille Davis

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1952 IN THE USA BY WESTBURY PUBLICATIONS, INC., PUBLISHING OFFICE 301 N ST., N.E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C. EDITORIAL COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 1416 F ST. N.W., WASHINGTON 4, D. C. BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 40 EAST 49TH ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER SEPTEMBER 26, 1950, AT THE POST OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 20c; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50. PRINTED IN THE USA.

WASHINGTON WIRE

UP IN Canada today there is a fiscal surplus. When a surplus appears many voters immediately want tax relief. But economists believe that debt-reduction in times like these is far more valuable than inflationary tax relief. Because the Canadian form of government is stiff and firm, and has disciplined, responsible parties, the sound fiscal course is now being followed: debt is being reduced while tax relief waits.

The US followed just the opposite course in the 80th Congress. Truman pleaded for debt reduction before inflationary tax cuts. He called for continued belt-tightening. But Congress would have none of it, and additional spending power poured out. Prices leaped. Long-range national goals were sacrificed for short-range political benefits.

The difference between the US and Canada is not one of temperament but of form of government. Canada has the parliamentary system which insures firm control by the party in power and a reasonably responsible opposition which knows that it may be called to govern at any time. Washington, by contrast, has a unique system of divided power with a Constitutionally built-in feud between executive and legislators and responsibility hidden all over the living room like peanuts at a child's party.

Now, once more, the agonizing irresponsibility of the American system is being demonstrated in Congressional cuts in the Truman $7.9 overseas defense program. In despair the executive warns that every dollar cut on this side of the Atlantic means the loss of three to five dollars in joint defense in Western Europe. But Congressmen face an election. There is little party discipline. They are persuaded that the popular slogan is "economy." Lacking the clear-cut responsibility pinned down in Canada by the parliamentary system, nobody can be held responsible in Washington. Democrats control the White House, but on the "economy" issue Taft supporters (Republican or Southern Democrats) control Congress. General Eisenhower has deplored the proposed cuts—if Ike became President he would face the same trouble Truman faces. There is no greater danger to America's role of world leadership than its own antiquated form of government.

Next week Eisenhower unveils himself. He comes home and gives his views at respective press conferences. Normally military heroes are unveiled; in this instance the hero does it himself—he steps off the pedestal into politics. He has been carefully coached; he has been learning his homework in Paris. Colonel McCormick has been making things ready for him too; in the Chicago *Tribune* he writes, "Eisenhower would make the worst possible American President. He would be worse than Truman." Almost as preposterous is the NY *Times* at the other extreme. It has already endorsed Ike—sight unseen. (For some reason the *Times*' act peculiarly irritates us. The *Times* has a reputation for responsibility. For a paper with such pretensions, to endorse a candidate before knowing where he stands strikes us as amazing gall. Already the *Times* has discovered it differs with Ike on offshore oil.) Ike's present military popularity is not necessarily translatable in political popularity. In the latter field he still represents all things to all men, and any positive stand cuts his following. We think his forthcoming Abilene press conference might reduce the General's support as much as 30 percent.

Library of Congress researchers have prepared for Senator Morse (R, Ore.), a comparison of the space, in inches, given by five leading newspapers to Judge Pine's decision overruling the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Truman steel seizure, to the Court of Appeals decision overruling Judge Pine and to testimony of Defense Secretary Lovett giving the Administration's case for the seizure in terms of military urgency.

Here is how the reader got it: 195 inches of space (average) to the glorious defeat of Truman by heroic lower court Judge Pine, only 92 inches of space to the reversal of heroic Judge Pine by the humdrum upper court, one inch (average) to the Lovett explanation.

The biggest fight going on now in Washington is behind the scenes; it is the feverish battle of rival forces to line up votes either to sustain or override Truman's forthcoming veto of the off-shore oil grab. A majority of Congress wants to give away the greatest untapped public domain of the nation, the mineral rights to the off-shore area along our coasts. It contains $40 billion of oil alone.

The US Supreme Court says it belongs to you and me. Some in Congress want to use it for public education. But the majority wants to give it to private interests for exploitation, through the adjacent states. Nothing like this has been seen since Henry Ford almost bought Muscle Shoals in the twenties. At that time President Coolidge favored the sale, but mighty Senators like Walsh, Couzens, LaFollette and Norris blocked it. Now the roles are reversed; the President resists the give-away, and it is the majority of Congress that has adopted the antique Coolidge philosophy.

Russia is out-producing the US in military plans almost two to one, Speaker Rayburn told the House in his unavailing plea against cuts in defense and foreign-aid budgets. . . . House GOP leadership is worried over voter-reaction to its rejection of modest social security pay boosts last week and will retreat. . . . Gen. Ridgway told Senators he thought the MacArthur advance beyond the Yalu River in 1950 was not correct strategy; Ridgway, who has been the GOP darling in Asia, faces coolness in Europe.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

Truman v. Byrnes

● Referring to the news story, "Very Personal History" (*NR*, April 28) will you allow me to dispute your statement that although Secretary of State Byrnes is a very intelligent person, his dismissal has been justified by events? I submit that, on the contrary, Secretary Byrnes in his dealings with Russia, was motivated by only one thought: the interests of our country. President Truman, on the other hand, jealously thought that Byrnes was supplanting or suppressing him, and so he dismissed a good servant, and one who deserved well of the Republic. . . .

Berkeley, Calif. CHARLES B. COLLINS

Third Person

● Sen. Joseph McCarthy habitually refers to himself in public in the third person. He should stop it. The only other people who do this habitually are schizophrenics, most of whom are locked up in mental hospitals.

New York City WILSON K. WILSON

A Correction

● May I draw your attention to a recent error. . . .

Mr. Evett writes (*NR*, April 21, pages 22 and 23) as follows: "New Directions and the Universal Edition have published a translation which is certainly not acceptable as literature and which should make for very dull theatre without music." The implication that the translations published by the two above-mentioned firms are identical, is misleading. New Directions printed, in their *Annual XII* (1950) a new translation of George Buechner's drama, prepared by Mr. Seth Ulman and myself. This version is based on the original text and by no means on the libretto used by Alban Berg.

If Mr. Evett thinks that lines such as "Dickie's Mommie is dead" need improvement, I wholeheartedly agree with him. However, he won't find this line in the translation printed in *New Directions XII*.

I should appreciate it if you were to acquaint the readers of the *New Republic* with the actual circumstances related to the two translations of George Buechner's play, the correct title of which reads "Woyzeck."

HENRY SCHNITZLER
Department of Theater Arts
University of California
Los Angeles, Calif.

[Mr. Evett's original manuscript observed the proper distinctions between the texts of the play and of the libretto. The editors regret that the errors occurred in the editing.]

"How High the Limit"

● In your article entitled "How High the Limit" (*NR*, April 28) you put your finger on a most vital danger in American politics in suggesting that excessive campaign expenses are ". . . that most crucial factor in American election campaigns—money."

If $2.5 million was spent in Ohio to elect Senator Taft two years ago, how free is he to act in the interest of the people of Ohio and of the United States? The danger we may expect from such practice is ultimate loss of confidence in our very form of government, and this practice gives the critic something most real to attack. Those of us who are determined to make our way of life a success have a most solemn duty to secure remedial legislation to correct abuses such as you describe.

Yet, how difficult it is to stimulate interest in such matters! As a former member of the Texas House of Representatives, when interest in election reform in Texas had been roused by the Johnson-Stevenson campaign in the election of a United States Senator, I prepared "a bill to be entitled an act making it unlawful for any person to make campaign contributions, in money or in any other thing of value, for the nomination of any candidate for state . . . or federal office, unless such person prior to the making of such contribution shall receive permission therefor from such candidate by written instrument . . . specifying the exact amount of such contribution . . . providing penalties for the violation thereof . . .," and making such penalties effective against both donor and candidate, if the latter failed to report such contributions. This should have helped to correct the abuse you describe, for candidates would assist in enforcement of the legislation against each other. . . .

Houston, Tex. ROLLAND BRADLEY

Confucius

● The central fact about Confucius (*NR*, March 24, "From Doctrine to Dictatorship" is that many millions in the Orient have suffered many centuries of tyranny and stagnation, politically and in the family, in large measure because this "Great Sage" committed the supreme folly of advocating submission as the perpetual base of the social order(sugar-coating this central folly with many "little wisdoms."

Scholars who discourse at length about these little wisdoms without emphasizing his central folly maintain the prestige of Confucius as a "Great Sage," and thus help to maintain tyranny and stagnation in the Orient.

Tokyo, Japan A. C. BLATT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 126, NUMBER 22, ISSUE 1957, WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 2, 1952

New Republic

CAN TAFT HIJACK THE NOMINATION?

IN West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, in the town of Ft. Allen, one Taft supporter and four Eisenhower backers comprised the meeting of the Republican Parish convention. The one Taft man, Robert Butler, was named temporary chairman of the meeting by order of the pro-Taft State Republican Committee.

Butler called the meeting to order at his mother's house. In quick succession, he called for nominations for permanent chairman, nominated himself, closed the nomination, and elected himself. Then he did the same for delegate to the state convention.

The four Eisenhower men, Thomas Sanction reports in a penetrating series of articles for the New Orleans *Item*, "shouted in frustration," but Butler hammered the gavel for adjournment, and the session was over. Subsequently Sanction writes:

> At the state convention, which this reporter observed, the Credentials Committee, named by the Taft group, seated Butler as a delegate. The delegate selected in protest by the four Eisenhower men was not seated.
>
> The pro-Taft Credentials Committee "heard" 40 similar contests. In every instance . . . the Eisenhower delegates were thrown out, and the pro-Taft delegates were seated.
>
> This reporter studied a sampling of the cases. In every case, the "steamroller" or "stand-off" method had been used by the Taft parish, ward or district men to create a contest against pro-Eisenhower delegates.

The same story is being repeated in state after state throughout the South. Sen. Charles Tobey (R, N.H.) has used the term "brazen thievery" to describe what has happened in Louisiana and has demanded that Senator Taft either publicly condone or repudiate the activities of the Taft machine in that state. The Senator from Ohio has remained silent under this charge, nor had he anything to say when Roy Cullen, Houston oilman and a leading GOP contributor in Texas, appealed to him to prevent his followers from causing a "national scandal" by riding "roughshod over the will of the majority at the state convention."

Astounded Taft men in Texas, who found themselves overwhelmingly outnumbered in the regular county conventions in all the large cities, walked out and held rump meetings. Taft won a majority in only one of the large preliminary conventions in Texas, but a pro-Taft state executive committee had the authority to choose between contesting Taft and Ike delegations from 31 Texas counties, having approximately one-half the votes in the state convention which elected the 38 Republican delegates to Chicago.

Talk of "brass knuckles," filibusters and stolen meetings is in the Republican air in Florida, Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi as well as in Louisiana and Texas. In all probability, rival delegations will go to Chicago from all six of these states. They will have a total of 99 votes between them, and the decision as to which of the groups are officially seated may determine the Republican nomination.

Whenever a Republican contest is close, the bosses of the Southern papier-mâché organizations stand in similar positions of power. The temptation to Northern GOP leaders to buy and trade with them is obviously strong since the Southern delegations are as large as some Northern ones, the population for the entire state being the basis of apportionment. The 15-member delegation from Louisiana, for example, will have only one less vote at Chicago in July than those from the rock-ribbed Republican state of Maine and will actually have three more votes than traditionally Republican Vermont, although there are only 1,500 registered Republicans in Louisiana and about 150,000 in Maine and about 75,000 in Vermont. It is small wonder that, as Harold L. Ickes once said, Southern Republican delegates "every four years, from time immemorial, have been bought or sold on the auction bloc."

The preservation of these GOP patronage machines in the Southern states, which have been described as "all rank and damn little file," has seemed more desirable to national party leaders than the building of a real two-party system in the South. As one member of the Republican National Committee, quoted by Alexander Heard in his provocative new book *A Two Party South?*, explains why:

> The practical politician always prefers to do business with as small a group of people as possible. The competition for delegates is so keen that Republican organization leaders want the present "closed club" arrangement to continue whereby the marshaling of delegates can be handled through a small clique of friends, well-known from past experience as able to deliver the votes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Robert A. Taft is one such practical politician. Knowing from his party history that the Southern machines had always aided the conservative wing of the party, and most conspicuously his father, William Howard Taft in 1912, Taft began wooing the South assiduously as soon as he came to the Senate. In the 1940 convention and again in 1948, the voting began with Taft more than twice as strong among Southern delegations as with the whole convention.

In 1948, Taft's Southern popularity was diluted, however, because the supporters of his opponent, Thomas E. Dewey, through control of the key Credentials Committee, were able to recognize certain contesting Dewey delegations over those committed to Taft, as in the case of Georgia. This year Senator Taft will not suffer that disadvantage. The chairman of the National Committee group already designated to rule on contests is George Hanson of Utah, an avowed Taft supporter. And the experts generally agree that Taft men control a majority of the state delegations, one representative from each of which constitutes the Credentials Committee of the Convention.

The California and South Dakota primaries on June 3 are the last chance voters will have for a direct voice in the nominations. Less than one-third of the Republican delegates are still to be picked, and Senator Taft, with 399 delegates pledged to him, and General Eisenhower, with 359, are running neck and neck. If Taft's strong-arm tactics in the South work, the nomination could be his by virtue of a hijack.

THE WEEK

RAILROAD SETTLEMENT

The longest railroad labor dispute ever experienced by the operating brotherhoods was finally settled last week through White House mediation following almost two years of operation under government seizure to prevent a strike. The agreement was reached between the owners and three of the brotherhoods. The fourth, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, made a similar settlement in 1951. The brotherhoods did not pretend that it was a satisfactory settlement. They admitted "some disappointment" with the proposal but added that "there are no better alternatives under one-sided government seizure" and "rule by labor injunction."

Aside from the token increase in pay of five cents to 12.5 cents an hour given the 150,000 workers under seizure, it was the first increase received since 1948. The agreement provides for a total raise of 37 cents an hour for yardmen and 22.5 cents for roadmen—minus the token payment—much of it retroactive to October 1, 1950. In all, it will yield some $100 million in back pay, but the 12 rate increases given the carriers by the Interstate Commerce Commission since the end of World War II have more than compensated the owners. All told, it is believed that the three-year dispute and seizure have profited the carriers several hundred million dollars which they would have paid their workers to maintain the level of prevailing wage-increase patterns.

The seven-week strike of 36,000 AFL Commercial Telegraphers against the Western Union Telegraph Company has also been settled with the contingency that the Federal Communications Commission approves a rate increase to compensate the company for its increased labor costs. This was the procedure followed last year when the company received a 10-percent message-rate boost after giving its workers a 17-cent-an-hour increase.

The union received a 10-cent hourly increase for workers on a 40-hour week; workers on more than a 40-hour week schedule receive the equivalent of 40-hours pay for 48-hours work, and workers on a 35-hour week will receive an across-the-board $22 a month increase. The CTC had sought a 16-cent-an-hour raise.

Another union demand was for a union shop. Actually this was won although the company employed a face-saving device by granting what they call an "agency shop" which requires employees to pay dues but not to join the union. Technically, payment of dues is all that can be required for workers under the Taft-Hartley Act in any case.

Following the Wage Stabilization Board decision establishing a 15-cent-an-hour ceiling, the nationwide oil strike is rapidly being settled on a local basis. Any hopes of securing nationwide bargaining on the issues were blasted by an AFL stand that there was no "coalition" with the CIO Oil workers. The joint strike effort was never really attained while the industry, in effect, maintained its unity of purpose.

IMMIGRATION DEFEAT

Badly beaten on two roll-call votes in their efforts to force revision of the discriminatory McCarran immigration bills, the liberals in the Senate now have no choice but to ask for and attempt to uphold a Presidential veto. The McCarran tactic of leaving them to make their well-reasoned addresses to an empty Senate, while he quietly corralled votes, worked. With the co-operation of Senate Majority Leader Ernest McFarland (Ariz.), McCarran not only prevented the Democratic Policy Committee from taking a stand against the bill, but succeeded in rounding up almost all of the Southern bloc in support of his measure.

In retrospect it appears that the liberals' failure lay in their inability to enlist the support of even one of the senior Senate conservatives. Men like Con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nally, Russell and Ed Johnson (Colo.) either did not care or did not dare to incur McCarran's displeasure. Yet more appalling was the reaction among the Republicans. Only eight Eisenhower followers voted to substitute the more reasonable Humphrey-Lehman bill. In the foreground of Republican supporters of the McCarran measure was Robert A. Taft.

A number of Catholic organizations, led by the National Catholic Welfare Council, announced early in March that they were opposed to some of the McCarran Act's provisions. During final consideration, however, McCarran introduced letters from the Council and several other Catholic groups, stating in various ways that they supported the McCarran Bill after all. This switch deprived the liberals of an important segment of public support.

So overwhelming was McCarran's victory numerically that the liberals, far from pushing through an improved measure, may now be hard put to uphold a Presidential veto. With such Republicans as Margaret Chase Smith (Maine) and Edward Thye (Minn.) deserting the cause, the liberals are down to rock-bottom strength—about 30.

ACTOR IN A COON-SKIN CAP

RALEIGH, N. C. (NR Corresp.)

North Carolina Democrats, at their state convention here, whooped it up for Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia, but it was a man in a coon-skin cap who stole the whole show—although the name of Sen. Estes Kefauver was never mentioned from the platform.

With skill and dignity, former Gov. Cameron Morrison moved that the convention endorse Russell and instruct its national delegates to vote for him. The elegant and amazing Sen. Clyde Hoey rose to praise the good brother from Georgia. In more strident and awkward tones, junior Sen. Willis Smith also lauded Russell.

All of this time Kefauver's name, his record and his bid for the Presidency were constantly before the delegates. A Carolina man in a coon-skin cap and horn-rimmed glass, employing Kefauver's characteristic gestures, strolled up and down the aisles, smiling and waving to the crowd. While Russell was being praised from the platform the eyes of the delegates followed the man in the coon-skin cap.

Former Gov. Morrison defended the Democratic Party on the corruption issue, saying the Party, itself, finds its wayward sons. At this point the man in the coon-skin cap was down front. He rose, waved and bowed to the cheers.

When the motion to instruct the delegates for Russell had been made, the man in the coon-skin cap jumped to the platform. He stepped to the microphone, slowly took off his hat and horn-rimmed glasses and said: "Don't let the hat and glasses fool you. I'm just plain George Barber, chairman of the Third Precinct in Greensboro." Then he moved that the delegates be sent to the convention uninstructed. There was no attack on Russell—no speech—no anger. It was easy, tactful and effective.

The North Carolina delegation will go to the National Democratic Convention uninstructed.

DIRT FARMER KLINE

Republican Senators, trying their hand at some amateur psychological warfare, fell all over themselves last week. It started when Homer Capehart (R, Ind.) the millionaire radio manufacturer, announced that he was going to expose President Truman's myth about all the big businessmen being in the GOP. To prove his point, he inserted into the *Congressional Record* a list of 150 business "tycoons" who, he said, had been working for the Democratic Administration. His list included such noteworthies as Dean Acheson and Robert Lovett, and also Allan Kline, the President of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

Liberal farm groups have long been insisting that Kline's associations run consistently with the NAM, but Capehart's statement was the first substantiation of that charge from a conservative quarter. The following day Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper, a Republican from Kline's home state of Iowa, took the floor to protest Kline's being labeled a "tycoon." Admitting that Kline was an influential citizen, Hickenlooper insisted that he was in reality only a "devoted dirt farmer in Iowa."

Allan Kline was prominent in another connection a few days later, when the Farmer's Union unearthed the minutes of joint meetings held by Farm Bureau Leaders and the National Association of Electric Companies. The fact of these meetings was particularly significant in view of recent Farm Bureau attacks closely resembling the propaganda of private-utility companies on REA and many other government farm programs.

The FB, which at one time was a staunch supporter of REA, urged Congress to cut the rural-electrification appropriation from $8.3 to $5.7 million. When Congress was considering the low-cost public generating and transmission line projects which supply REA, the FB took the position that the power companies can supply generating facilities and transmission lines most economically: "We urge private utilities to take the steps necessary to meet the needs of farm people for electric energy."

It is now known that for the past six years "dirt farmer" Kline and Purcell Smith, president of the National Association of Electric Companies and the highest paid lobbyist in Washington ($65,000 per year), along with other utility and Farm Bureau representatives, have been meeting together to discuss the rural-power problem and the government's public-power program. The minutes of last year's meeting revealed Kline to be in complete accord with the private-utility companies on the question of curtailing further government expansion in the power field.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SHOVELING IT OUT

The administrators of most new foundations move cautiously at first in spending their money; they appear to have buck fever about signing checks. No such inhibition seems to bother the men in charge of the half-billion-dollar Ford Foundation, which makes all others look like rowboats alongside the *Queen Mary*. Reading its annual report, one gets the impression — doubtless completely unjustified—that everybody who asked got at least a few thousand dollars. In 1951 it paid out $18 million on grants made the previous year, authorized $22 million of new ones, and paid out $12 million on the second lot. The list is extraordinarily wide in its scope, including:

$1 million to the Quakers for programs to reduce world tensions and improve international understanding.

$46,000 to the Institute for Creative Research for "a study of the fundamentals, workings and problems of democratic society."

$75,000 for a special study of "intercultural relations."

$80,000 for a study of universal disarmament.

$50,000 to the Advertising Council which, with an equal amount from other sources, will conduct roundtables looking toward "a restatement of the principles of American society."

$1.2 million for experiments in television and radio.

$150,000 to the International Press Institute to "support the freedom of the press."

$1.6 million for various projects in Pakistan, including a polytechnic training institute and a college of home economics.

$1.2 million to India to be spent chiefly on problems of food supply, health, literacy and development of natural resources.

$785,000 to the East European Fund to study Russia and help resettle refugees from that country.

$500,000 to the International Rescue Committee to resettle refugee intellectuals.

Substantial grants to the Foundation's own educational projects, including more than $7 million to the Fund for the Advancement of Education and $3.6 million to the Fund for Adult Education (in addition to the gift for television and radio).

Donations to the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, the Great Books Foundation, the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation, several universities, the Institute of International Education, United Nations Day, the Philippine YMCA, and others.

Reports in the press say that the Foundation is also planning to publish a new magazine, *Perspectives, USA*, to be printed simultaneously in English, French, German, Italian and other languages, to sell abroad for 25 cents a copy, far below the cost of production. This magazine, to display American culture at its best, will have a different editor for each edition, chosen from a list that already includes Mortimer Adler, Jacques Barzun, R. P. Blackmur, Malcolm Cowley, Harry Levin and Lionel Trilling. The magazine has been allotted $500,000 for its first three years—and will probably need it.

The question is often asked whether the great foundations do any good at all, or at least, in any reasonable proportion to the vast sums they shovel out. The answer is clearly in the affirmative regarding groups like the Rockefeller Institute, which does scientific research, and the Rockefeller Foundation, which helps put the results of that research into effect. Whatever else happens, the Ford Foundation should soon tell us whether it is possible to spend effectively $30 or $40 million annually chiefly for social-science research and "better understanding."

LIBEL UNCONFIDENTIAL

Jack Lait and Lee Mortimer are in trouble. Their book, *USA Confidential* (discussed in the *NR* of April 28 by John P. Mallan), has brought down on them a series of libel suits, unusual in number considering the short time the book has been out.

Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R, Me.) is suing for $1 million. The Nieman Marcus Company of Dallas, Texas, and 54 of its employees as individuals, are suing for a total of $7.4 million. Dave Beck of Seattle, executive vice-president of the Teamsters' Union, AFL, is asking $300,000. Suits have also been filed by Sheriff George H. Blaine of Tulsa, for $500,000, Sally Stanford of San Francisco for $300,000 and by Antoine Gazda, an Austrian inventor, for $2 million.

Lait and Mortimer, in turn, are suing the New York *Post* for a total of $1 million. The *Post* announces it will soon begin publishing a series of articles about them.

RETREAT FROM POWER

In 1900, a year after the Treaty of Paris awarded the Spanish possession of Puerto Rico to the United States, Congress passed the Foraker Act, which established civil government for the new American possession. That bill created a popularly elected legislature, but the real ruler was in Washington. President McKinley, already wrestling with God and his conscience over what to do with the Philippines, was given the added duty of appointing for Puerto Rico a governor, the heads of the executive departments, the justices of the supreme court and the 11 members of the executive council.

In March, 1917, a month before the US entered a world conflict to fight for the principle of self-determination, the Congress revised the Puerto Rican organic act. This strengthened the powers of the local government, deprived the US-appointed officials of their legislative powers, and gave Puerto Ricans US citizenship. It still left it to the White House, however, to appoint the Puerto Rican governor, the attorney general, the commissioner of education, the auditor and the justices of the supreme court.

In 1946, after another war for democracy, President Truman appointed the first native Puerto Rican to hold the governorship. A year later Congress divested the US of still more powers by providing for the election of the governor. After that the President was only able to appoint the auditor and the supreme court justices. Then in 1950 Congress went further yet, and provided for Puerto Rico's having its own constitution, independent government structure and means for selecting all its officials, including the judges. The constitution was written, and approved overwhelmingly by the Puerto Ricans on March 3. By officially submitting it to Congress President Truman has now taken the last step in relinquishing his own powers in Puerto Rico's internal affairs. When Congress approves the document, he said in his message, "the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico will be a government which is truly by the consent of the governed."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NAZI PRESS REAPPEARS

THE GERMAN problem has once again become a specter dominating Europe far more than many Americans seem to realize. For most Western Europeans agree with the London *Times* that the West Germans have both come to the very "brink of decisions of fateful import for Europe and the world" and are at the same time "going somewhere fast without knowing where." Part of the trouble is, as the Manchester *Guardian* sees it, that:

> The Western Powers have set out to achieve two objectives simultaneously—to frame a provisional peace treaty for a war-guilty country, with its inevitable sanctions and penalties, and to enlist Germans as fully entitled European soldiers. . . . It is undeniable that the Germans should not have been asked to take up arms again before they had paid the final bills for the Second World War or been excused payment. . . . The horse deal, sought in the general interest of the material security of the West, cannot be one of the cornerstones of a German democracy which is still in its embryonic state.

Or, as the *Times*, going further, says:

> Adenauer is clearly far to the West of general opinion in his forced marches with the Allied High Commission. . . . Experience of the Allied occupation suggests that the Germans have learned little about democracy and . . . much less about international co-operation. . . . German mentality has not changed so much that a solution in the last resort is not seen in the word of command and the big drum.

One of the disquieting elements about the direction in which the West Germans are moving is the reappearance of a press which screams the first and not the third verse of *Deutschland Uber Alles*, which nakedly proclaims the Hitlerite word of command and arrogantly beats the big drum of the old militarists. Until not long ago, the most brazen of the neo-Fascist daily, weekly and monthly publications were in Italy or in France, such as *Aspects de la France*, *Rivarol* and *Pays Réel*. The neo-Nazi sheets in the German language operated from outside Germany—*Der Weg* in Buenos Aires, *Die Eiche* in South Africa, for example. During the last year, however, Goebbels' *Volkische Beobachter*, the official organ of the Nazi Party, has been reborn in the form of the Hamburg *Deutsche Beobachter* which spreads the same old ideas all over Germany; and the Essen *Fortschritt* and many others like it are gaining circulation. The various veterans' publications have become more openly nationalistic.

The Stahlhelm, organ of the Steel Helmet organization, reappeared some months ago. The *Atlantropa*, published on the presses of the University of Munich, proclaims the future division of the world into three A's: America, Asia and Atlantropa, including Africa and all of Europe to the Ural Mountains. A recent number contained plans, worked out by and for Germans, for great new Atlantropa cities in Gibraltar, Tangiers, Marseilles and Arles.

Ubersee Rundschau, published in Hamburg, combines three previous reviews devoted to German ambitions in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and speaks for a number of big German trade groups. *Geopolitik*, which has reappeared since last year in Heidelberg, goes back to Gobineau, Chamberlain and Haushofer, to proclaim again the Nazi doctrine of living room for the superior German people.

The most important and influential of the neo-Nazi monthlies is called *Nation Europa*. It has been published since last year in Coburg and continues the Italian Fascist *Europa Nazione*, directed by the one-time Fascist ambassador in Berlin, Anfuso. The February, 1952, number contained articles over the signatures of Col. Charles A. Lindbergh and Maurice Bardeche, a French collaborator recently condemned for "apology for murder."

One of the directors of *Nation Europa* is Per Engdahl, the Swedish Nazi, who organized the international neo-Nazi conference in Malmö, and who helped arrange a meeting recently in Madrid of Fascist and Nazi emigres from South America. An agent of the group is Otto Skorzeny, the Nazi parachutist officer who rescued Benito Mussolini when he was being kept prisoner by the Badoglio Government.

Nation Europa calls itself a "review in the service of a European renovation," and its pages are littered with enthusiastic references to a new, united Europe. There are no open attacks on the other new, united Europe—the one to which Dr. Adenauer is committed. But there are suggestions of ways in which the "real Europeans"—the heirs of Hitler and his collaborators outside Germany—can later on get out of any alliances or compacts which, while temporarily necessary, may in the long run turn out to be hinderances to the making of the "European Nation."

It would be absurd of course to take the revival of a neo-Nazi press as proof that West Germany's direction is bound to be, or even likely to be, toward neo-Nazism. On the other hand, the coincidence between the rise of this trend with negotiations for what the *Guardian* calls the horse deal gives point to the view of one of the outstanding American experts on German affairs, Hans J. Morgenthau, Director of the Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy at the University of Chicago. He has written:

> **The choices before the US are two: either military, economic and political integration of Western Germany into Western Europe under safe-guards that make impossible the resumption of an independent foreign policy by Germany, or the neutralization of a unified Germany under military and political conditions which would make its violation by either side [the Soviet East and the West] both difficult and hazardous.**

The key to the first choice is to have the rearmament of West Germany *follow* a political and economic integration with Western Europe, really encouraging (if not guaranteeing) the growth of German democracy. The key to the second choice is political negotiation *now* to learn finally whether the risks of rearmament must be taken, even without the integration. The decisions of Washington are of far more fateful import than those of Bonn.

Paris PERCY WINNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE RAID ON PRICE CONTROLS

by Matthew K. Amberg

WITH the inflationary armaments drain on the economy approaching its peak, a cluster of quiet and determined drives go on to strip away what price-control protection now remains in effect.

These drives have been moving ahead under cover of the attention-distracting steel wage-and-price dispute. Deliberately avoiding the publicity tactics of former years in an apparent effort to let a sleeping public lie, a fairly well co-ordinated coalition of business and farm organizations has set out to kill price controls.

All this year the foes of the OPS have been feeding out "horror" stories on the problems and expenses facing businessmen who try to comply with OPS regulations, stories of the "expensive" staffing of OPS field offices, comparisons of the number of words in the Ten Commandments and in a fictional OPS cabbage-price regulation, and the like. Largely avoided were such gaudy promotional stunts as the National Press Club dinner thrown last year by 19 meat-industry associations fighting against meat ceilings.

The line for some organizations was laid out at strategy sessions such as one which took place February 28 in the Crystal Room of Chicago's Hotel Sherman. There a group of farm commodity, retail, wholesale and realty organizations met to pool efforts and plan their campaign to make the OPS "unsavory to the public."

By order of the Corn Belt Livestock Feeders Association, which called the Hotel Sherman meeting, and in line with the CBLFA's pledge that it was to be "a confidential meeting without publicity," it was closed to the press. The names of most of the estimated 40-to-50 participants, as well as those selected to serve on the fund-raising and tactics co-ordinating committee, were not divulged to questioning reporters. Much of the press responded graciously—business publications like the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Journal of Commerce* and most metropolitan dailies carried no news stories on the meeting.

At the meeting, the CBLFA's invitation to 63 organizations said, a Production, Processing and Distribution Council would be formed, to be composed of

> all organizations opposed to the OPS who desire to work together in a hard, well-planned campaign during these next 10 months.

Each organization would start an immediate campaign of its own through speeches, radio programs, press releases, etc., showing up the OPS program. Every failure, every reduction in production, every distress brought about by the OPS would be brought out. . . . Those [affiliates] with radio time would be asked to invite in the representatives of other organizations when some startling bit of information could be broadcast that would bring resentment against the OPS. The deliberate and planned attempt would be to make it as unsavory to the public as was the OPA. It would be emphasized and re-emphasized that *Controls Cut Production and Shortages in Production Bring High Prices.*

Other parts of the plan, according to the two-page "confidential" promotion, would make use of auto windshield stickers carrying the slogan, "Take the Shackles off Production—OPS MUST GO!," and election of state chairmen to stimulate a "steady stream" of letters to each Representative from people in his own state, of visitors to Representatives, and of all-industry delegate bodies to visit each delegate to the two major parties' national conventions. The efforts prior to extension of the controls bill after July 1 would be to have the OPS authority dropped from the law, leaving only allocations and some indirect control powers. If that failed, the next move would be to attempt to get both party platforms for 1952 to carry anti-price control planks.

The Livestock Feeders' "confidential" promotion proposed a co-ordination of testimony before Congress:

> . . . not only should there be a perfect flood of demands to be heard, but each appearance should be sure to contain material stressing: (a) Controls cut production. (b) Shortages of production bring high prices. (c) The OPS must go.

Mark W. Pickell, President of CBLFA, emerged from the February 28 meeting and told reporters that some 50 representatives of 30 different industries had been present, but declined to identify any participants except to say that cotton, butter and eggs, retailing and wholesaling fields were represented.

Meanwhile other farm and business organizations were co-ordinated through various arrangements—interlocking memberships of associations and foundation boards of directors, "informal" strategy luncheons and meetings, and Chamber of Commerce and meat-industry conferences. Besides the dozen real-estate organizations which asked for the end of rent control, 60 business and farm groups paraded witnesses before the Senate Committee hearings or sent statements, ringing the changes on one

---

Mathew K. Amberg, Washington free-lance writer and researcher, covered Capitol Hill affairs for the Congressional Quarterly News Features 1947-51, specializing in the activities of lobbying organizations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or both of two major themes: let price and wage controls die June 30, 1952; or, decontrol or suspend controls on *new* industry's products.

A repeat performance was put on before the House Banking and Currency Committee. The major argument advanced by those seeking the end of controls over their own products was deceptively simple: Our goods are selling at below-ceiling prices and are therefore "soft," and have been for some time, so please free us of burdensome record-keeping and reporting requirements.

Some of these spokesmen, actively egged on by Senate Banking Committee Chairman Burnet R. Maybank (D, S.C.), urged that Congress write into the controls law a formula which would compel price-control suspension on goods selling at less than ceiling price for a given period of time, or on goods not in short supply. Maybank sought to pressure Price Stabilizer Ellis Arnall into providing the Banking Committee with such a formula, but Arnall took the position that it would be better to suspend controls under formulas tailored by the OPS to fit individual industries.

The big fallacies in the "soft price" argument are two-fold: prices are not so soft, and they may be expected to go up. The so-called price "softness" claim is based on the fact that some prices are below ceiling or, in the case of products on which ceilings could not be set, below the peak prices. But these ceilings and peaks were reached under conditions of scare buying and wild profiteering before the Administration got up gumption enough to order the freeze, and the drop from those ceilings and peaks is relatively slight.

The housewife well knows that her shopping bag is very costly to fill. According to the OPS and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 58 percent of the weight of the consumers' budget was being spent for items which were at peak or ceiling prices at the very time these industry people spoke of "soft" prices to the Senators, and nearly 80 percent of the family budget was going for items priced within two percent of ceiling.

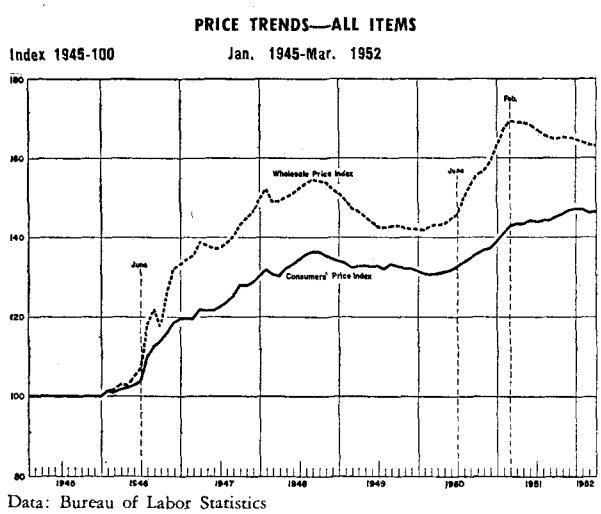
The businessman and the government procurement officer shop for their supplies in a high-priced wholesale commodity market. On items of wide public interest accounting for $134.7 billion of transaction value (less than half of the wholesale market), only 41 percent were at peak prices, 20 percent were "slightly" below, and 39 percent "significantly" below the peak. In this group are such commodities as wool, cotton, grains, livestock, poultry, eggs, processed foods, clothing and textiles, passenger cars and tires, etc. Furthermore, the relatively "soft" prices of such items as pork products resulted largely from purely seasonal factors prevailing when the survey was taken. The price forecast for later in the year is much closer to ceiling.

But in the group of items of main interest to business, comprising $138.4 billion and including metals, machinery, chemicals, most fuels, lumber, trucks and buses, and other basic goods, a different picture emerges. Here 84 percent of prices were at peak, 12 percent "slightly" below, and only four percent "significantly" below.

The wholesale commodity figures may go far to explain why the heaviest decontrol pressures come from agricultural commodity and processing, textile and retailing groups, with support from the machine-tool and similar industry trade associations.

At the Senate hearings, NAM's president William J. Grede, summarized the argument for those who took the "let controls die June 30" line. He refused to consider advising the Banking Committee on proposed modifications of controls, taking the flat position that nothing short of wiping out price controls would do.

In completely unabashed fashion, Grede asserted that "An analysis of the present supply situation for consumer goods reveals no serious or significant inflationary pressures. Only artificially created shortages and emergencies could cause serious imbalance." To end the underlying inflationary pressures implicit in the government's armaments buildup, he offered the usual NAM program: cuts in government spending (and in services to agriculture, resource development, and human welfare, budget-balancing partly by shifting the tax load to



Data: Bureau of Labor Statistics

Both wholesale commodity prices and consumers prices in March, 1952, (latest figures available) were higher than at post-OPA peaks. Wholesale index, trending down slightly, contains commodities only; doesn't necessarily promise similar trend for Consumers' Price Index which contains both goods and rent, medical and other services, personal transportation, etc. Many of the latter prices are increasing.

June, 1946, marks effective end of the OPA; June, 1950, Korean War; February, 1951, general price freeze effective date.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

consumers via the sales tax, use of indirect controls like credit curbs, and letting businessmen do that which they find to be profitable.

Resolutely forgetting the 1946 NAM-sponsored full-page ads that promised lower prices with controls out of the way, and the ensuing price-skyrocketing after the OPA was killed, Grede claimed that it was the threat of controls and consequent scare-buying that caused the post-Korea inflation, not scarcity. He did not mention deliberate profit-gouging, and no one asked him about that. But he did deny that corporate profits are excessive, or that they were in 1950 and 1951.

Grede and other business spokesmen also pitched much of their appeals on the burden of OPS compliance paper work, emphasizing how time consuming and expensive it is. But the judgment of those who suspected that the paperwork nuisance, real as it may well be, was being used as a front for other motives seemed to be confirmed by the cottonseed oil-price case.

The OPS rolled back the ceiling price on cottonseed oil from 23.5 cents a pound to 18 cents, and suspended controls on the product at the same time because it was selling well below ceiling. The OPS said controls would stay off as long as prices remained well below ceiling, but that if they approached it controls would go on again at the new ceiling. President Harold A. Young of the National Cotton Council asked Congress to forbid rollbacks below the ceilings in effect April 25, 1952, because he feared similar rollbacks on raw cotton and cotton textiles (which have since been announced). Demonstrating that the chief concern is price, not paperwork, Young said that "the cotton industry would greatly prefer to operate under the present system rather than be subjected to an OPS rollback type of suspension." The cotton council evidently expects prices to rise and wants room for them to do so.

Among groups which plumped for ending of all price controls, besides the Corn Belt Livestock Feeders Assn. and NAM, were: American Bankers Assn., American Farm Bureau Federation, Chamber of Commerce of the US, Machinery & Allied Products Institute, Natl. Creameries Assn., Natl. Cotton Council, Natl. Livestock Producers Assn., Natl. Retail Lumber Dealers Assn., Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers' Assn., and Western States Meat Packers Assn.

The 40-odd trade associations asking for decontrol for their industries included those in petroleum, rubber tire, construction, textile, food production and processing, retail and trucking fields.

In addition, retention of the Herlong and Capehart Amendments to the 1951 act, or extension of their coverage to the respective industries, was sought by a number of industry spokesmen. The Herlong Amendment, sponsored by Rep. A. S. Herlong Jr. (D, Fla.), requires that traditional pre-Korea percentage markups taken by merchants shall not be interfered with by the OPS. It is one of the built-in engines of inflation within the price-control law, especially since it permits retailers to figure a percentage markup for themselves even on the excise taxes they collect.

The Capehart Amendment, which bears the name of Sen. Homer E. Capehart (R, Ind.) but credit for which he has been willing to share, allows cost increases incurred before July 26, 1951, to be passed along in higher ceiling prices at any time the manufacturer or processor decides to apply for such an increase. It has been a relatively unused gimmick thus far, but when other factors start to move prices upward and firms begin to feel sure they can get more for their products, hundreds of thousands of Capehart increases will be applied for as the July 26 cut-off date governs the cost increases, not the ceiling-increase applications. Some business groups are asking for a roll-forward of the July 26 cut-off date to sometime this year, thus enlarging a loophole.

The Hudson, Kaiser-Fraser, Packard, Nash and Studebaker auto manufacturers struck a curious note when they sent Senator Maybank a letter supporting retention of the Capehart Amendment, partly on the grounds that repeal of that provision, plus a ceiling rollback, would give the Big Three auto firms a competitive advantage over the smaller companies. They recalled that in December, 1950, the government rolled back General Motors and Ford prices and prevented Chrysler increases, while permitting the smaller firms, which had increased prices before the freeze, to sell at their higher prices.

Complained Hudson et al, "The abnormally low prices of GM, Ford and Chrysler which they were forced to maintain by the OPS, had the effect of taking business from the smaller companies. This is a situation harmful to the smaller companies which we are certain Congress will not knowingly recreate." The layman might suppose that without the Capehart Amendment the five firms were forbidden to decrease their prices competitively.

Senate and House action on price controls is coming to a head unless business-minded Congressmen can stall action long enough to create a parliamentary emergency for controls during which the bill can be completely emasculated. The groups supporting effective price control need help. Their memberships are larger than the kill-controls bloc, but they have less advertising money and fewer lobbyists.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WILEY: ANOTHER VANDENBERG?

by Arnold Heidenheimer

SOME US Senators achieve greatness and others are content to let the seniority rule work for them. The late Sen. Arthur Vandenberg made himself dean of the new Republican internationalism. Alexander Wiley, the man who succeeded him as ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee, had until a month ago made no perceptible attempt to make his voice heard above the chamber's routine babble. Then he assumed a new and important role by uttering three short words. Wiley said he thought Dean Acheson was "able and distinguished."

When Alexander Wiley was elected to the US Senate from Wisconsin almost 14 years ago, back in 1938, the Associated Press in its brief dispatch described him as "one of Wisconsin's better-known Kiwanians." In fact, that summed up the man. The son of a Norwegian immigrant named Vila who settled in Chippewa Falls, Wiley worked his way through law school, became district-attorney of Chippewa County, and then settled down into the humdrum life of his typical Midwestern town, operating a dairy farm, running his law office and serving on the local bank and school boards.

Alexander Wiley

It was Kiwanis that pushed him into big league politics. "During 1933 and in the midst of that depression," says his biographical memo, "he devoted a full one-fourth of his time, touring his district so as to bolster the lagging spirits of his fellow Kiwanians and other Americans. It was the friendships made during that year which led to his nomination for governor of the state in 1936." His bid for the governorship was defeated that year by Phil La-Follette, who had Roosevelt's backing. But Wisconsin was becoming wary of the New Deal and tired of Progressivism. Touring the small towns, telling jokes, slapping backs, Wiley made another bid, for the Senate, and won. In Washington he assumed what seemed his natural role, lauding Wisconsin cheese and assailing spending and internationalism. On the eve of World War II he voted for confining the US armed forces to the Western Hemisphere, against repeal of the Neutrality Act, against the draft, against lend-lease. His clownish behavior laid him more open to attack than older hide-bound isolationists. Infuriated by Wiley's unreasoning opposition to most Administration measures, Roosevelt is said once to have scathingly described him as "the dumbest man in the Senate."

Then came the war, the gradual isolationist awakening—and Vandenberg. Through his forceful advocacy of Republican world responsibility, the Michigan Republican quickly won prestige and influence. Wiley, though he was born the same year as Vandenberg, was a nobody when he won a spot on the Foreign Relations Committee in January, 1945. He followed Vandenberg, even when the alternatives were Robert Taft's seductive proposals to do the same job cheaper. Thus Wiley voted for Bretton Woods and against the Taft proposals to offer Britain a $1.25 billion gift instead of the bigger loan. On foreign affairs, he has often been ahead of his party. But because of his jokes and ineffectiveness as a log-roller he had little personal prestige in the Senate.

Then last month, on April 19, Wiley made a speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Those who know him do not expect much from Wiley's speeches, loaded as they usually are with awkward rhetoric. (Lincoln, to Wiley, is a "lighthouse that will continue to beam through the ages.") The editor of the Milwaukee *Journal*, in town for the convention, thought a wire-service story would do. The speech turned out, however, to be a clear call for a positive foreign policy. Moreover it contained two brief references which made the *Journal* editor, and as it turned out, other editors, change their minds about the news value of the speech.

The first remark was made by Wiley as he acknowledged the editors' polite applause and made his prefatory remarks. He was honored, he said, to be asked to address the editors and to share the platform with the other speaker, the "able and distinguished" Secretary of State, Dean Acheson.

Wiley's second news-making point came toward the end, after a passage in which he urged the editors to print more "news of good report." "I will oppose, as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a matter of principle not personality, the efforts of anyone within my own party, or in any other party, who has the mistaken idea that simply because the other fellow recommended a policy it is necessarily wrong." At this point the editors remembered that the other Senator from Wisconsin is Joe McCarthy.

Even so the "story" might have gotten no farther than a few paragraphs in the morning paper. Wiley's kindly reference to Acheson was, after all, not too remarkable from a man who habitually refers to "the folks in the Kremlin." And the reference to McCarthyism might have been ignored as tangential by the junior Senator from Wisconsin, whose relationship with Wiley had always been slight and who had many more determined opponents on his hand.

At this point, however, the Chicago *Tribune* took a hand. Goaded by the thought that even if its fondest wishes were fulfilled and Taft became President, internationalist sentiment might be fostered by Wiley as the new head of the Foreign Relations Committee, Colonel McCormick ordered his most bloodthirsty hatchetmen to the job. In an editorial entitled "Acheson's Man Wiley," which appeared simultaneously in the Washington *Times-Herald*, Wiley was bluntly and mercilessly attacked for endangering his country, betraying the voters of his state and imperiling his party. To *Tribune* readers, of whom there are many in Wisconsin, Wiley was pictured as a "Truman Republican and an Acheson stooge." They were told that their joke-telling Senator was "an expert in betrayal," as sinister as Alger Hiss.

The attack on Wiley surprised but did not particularly ruffle Washington, which usually pays little attention to the *Times-Herald*. But that afternoon Sen. Harry Cain (R, Wash.), a close friend of Joe McCarthy's, rose in the Senate to "explain away and straighten out this misunderstanding." He set out to "defend" Wiley, but within minutes his sardonic grin and language gave him away. His "defense" turned into a fake protest against charges which grew yet more vitriolic as he purported to paraphrase them:

> This vituperative bit of writing [Cain began] implies that . . . the Secretary of State set out to seduce my colleague, the Senior Senator from Wisconsin. It implies that the seduction was not only attempted but successful. . . . This editorial implies that the State Department proceeded to act upon the assumption that the Senior Senator from Wisconsin was an illiterate country bumpkin inflated to a point of bombast . . . that it would be a simple matter to take him to the cleaners.

Wiley was absent from the floor as Cain continued to "accommodate a friend who, for the moment . . . is unable here to speak clearly and bluntly for himself." His performance soon turned into a frank bludgeoning job with others of the McCarthy clique joining in. Bourke Hickenlooper (R, Iowa), added that the *Times-Herald* is a "great newspaper with a keen, penetrating sense of evaluating situations." Schoeppel (Neb.), Karl Mundt (S.D.) and Styles Bridges (N.H.), among others, expressed appreciation to Cain for defending Wiley. To sum up his case Cain quoted chapter and verse of Wiley's record in a manner which indicated clearly that his source was Joe McCarthy's files, documenting Wiley's past mouthings of the standard Republican anti-Administration line.

The following Monday brought proof that McCarthy and his friends had underestimated their seemingly bumbling colleague. Wiley declared that he did not propose "to comment on various contributions made by my brother Senators on the floor last Thursday." But, he continued: "Let me say here and now that I stand by the speech which I delivered that day. I do not retract a word of it."

What had happened to Wiley, the hitherto meek GOP party-liner, to make him stand up against the wolves? The editorial writers probably presumed correctly that he has his eye on the Vandenberg mantle and it is possible that Wiley became convinced that his good record could be brought to public attention only through a head-on crash, however risky. Wiley was probably conditioned for the show-down through the years, through trips abroad on committee inspection on which he saw misery and inequity at first hand. Wiley, the sincere Lutheran, a religious attender of the Capitol's Wednesday Morning Breakfast Club, is impressed by moral appeals. To him the Mutual Security Act is a "Christian program," and he and Sen. Charles Tobey are the only Republicans to have supported this year's MSA bill on all votes. Wiley also dislikes Joe McCarthy on moral grounds as well as because he knows that the Junior Senator wants his Senior spot. Finally, Wiley may wish the world and the 41-year old British-born widow he recently married to know a new mellowed man. The silly politician who last year tried to subpoena President Truman in the MacArthur affair has taken on the guise of a Christian statesman defending another.

It is ironic that Wiley, the back-slapping Kiwanian, should be the Republican to go to the defense of the aloof and aristocratic Secretary of State. However, Wiley has stuck by his endorsement of Acheson even in the face of bitter cross-examination by Sen. Harry Cain:

> I made a statement before a press association [said Wiley]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in which I said that Mr. Acheson was a distinguished and able man. . . . No one can work with him, no one can sit in his presence and consider what he did at the San Francisco Japanese Conference, without knowing that there are many folks who love him as well as many folks who hate him, he *is* distinguished and able. . . . I know he is a thinker. I know, from what I have observed that he usually has a basis for his statements. . . .

In vain did Cain try to break Wiley down. Pointing his finger under Wiley's nose and pounding his palms, Cain tried for a half hour to force him to echo the standard Republican charge of State Department incompetence and betrayal in the handling of China policy. Wiley, who in earlier days had unthinkingly repeated these same charges to as many Chambers of Commerce and rallies as almost any Republican legislator, refused to do so now.

I shall not indulge in condemnation. It is easy to criticize. I have citicized the naïveté of our approach in China. General Marshall [whom McCarthy has labeled a traitor—Ed.] . . . had good intentions. However his approach was a naïve approach, such as President Roosevelt displayed at Yalta and Teheran. . . . That is as far as I go.

The question is how far Wiley's display of courage and integrity will carry him with the Republicans. Many of the ambitious Republican internationalists may hesitate to accept Wiley as even a nominal spokesman. Until recently Capitol rumor had it that the Eisenhower men were hoping, in event of capturing Senate control, to deny Wiley the Foreign Relations chairmanship and give it instead to H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, the unsentimental former Princeton professor.

The Eisenhower men are likely to find, however, that Wiley may be a big help. He won't be a man, like Vandenberg, at whose word the Republican Senators will go down the aisle to vote or even a balancing force in the Republican higher councils. But Wiley may be a very good spokesman to the voting public. Republican headquarters must even now be shuddering over the prospect of one of their candidates' damning foreign aid in one state, while their man in the next praises it to the skies. Wiley then would be the man to step in to persuade farm audiences that they want to do the right thing by the world, and that is what the Republicans will do. Wiley has been insisting all along that the Midwest is not isolationist; this year will be his chance to supplement Vandenberg's accomplishment by selling his idea to the Midwest.

PUBLIC POWER'S GOLDEN JUBILEE

by Jean Begeman and Barrow Lyons

THIS MONTH marks the fiftieth anniversary of the US Bureau of Reclamation. The 17 Western states which have gathered strength and prosperity from the 81 reclamation projects that turned wastelands into fertile fields will hold colorful celebrations and festivals to honor the occasion. Since President Teddy Roosevelt signed the Reclamation Act on June 17, 1902, the Department of Interior's Reclamation Bureau is credited with the development of over 17,000 miles of irrigation canals, furnishing water to millions of acres of land, and the construction of 16 major power dams over the bitter opposition of short-sighted Congressmen who predicted that the great Hoover and Coulee projects would go down in history as "Hoover's Folly" and "The Great White Elephant of the Northwest." But the job of reclamation is still only half done, and the opposition is as strong as ever. In fact, private-power companies are fighting with renewed vigor to block further expansion of the government program.

The prophetic words of Rep. Francis G. Newlands of Nevada during a debate in 1902 on the 160-acre land limitation, which saved the family-size farm from the feudal system, bear repeating today:

We have not felt in this country the evils of land monopoly. Lord Macauley said we never would experience the test of our institutions until our public domain was exhausted and an increased population engaged in a contest over the ownership of land. That will be the test of the future, and the very purpose of this bill is to guard against land monopoly and to hold this land in small tracts for the people of the entire country. . . .

This year, the utility companies have launched a bold new drive against the Interior Department for control of the low-cost hydro output of existing government dams. Unable to stop federal development of our natural resources, the private interests are now attempting to move into the public-power districts so they can dictate the sale of power at the "bus bar" on their own terms and convert large potential savings to consumers from these federal projects into increased monopoly profits.

"This drive," said President Truman recently, "has the main purpose of restoring the unlimited right of private monopoly to exploit this nation's water-power resources. They are trying to grab the Hell's Canyon

Barrow Lyons, former chief of the information office of the Bureau of Reclamation, is now a free-lance writer in Washington.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Idaho) Reservoir site where public development would produce 600,000 more kilowatts than private development. They are trying to prevent the public bodies in the state of Washington . . . from buying power facilities that private companies are willing to sell. The same campaign is being waged by the forces of reaction clear across the country."

Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, who has devoted the past 19 years of his public service to protecting our resources from exploitation, is feeling the impact of the power-grab drive from every section of the country. The private utilities of the Northeast are closing in on two of the largest and most valuable power resources in the country—Niagara Falls and the St. Lawrence River. Five utility companies in New York are sponsoring the Capehart-Miller Bill which would authorize private redevelopment of Niagara Falls—a project which will create over a million kilowatts of new hydro capacity to further enhance utility profits. In full-page ads in the slick magazines, the utility industry is backing this plan and opposing the Lehman-Roosevelt Bill for federal construction of the project. Another million kilowatts on the St. Lawrence River are in similar jeopardy.

Secretary Chapman has appealed another power-grab attempt to the Supreme Court. The case, now pending, involves efforts by the utilities to obtain licenses on key government hydro projects on the Roanoke River in Virginia. Chapman warns that "control of these projects and our vast water power still to be harnessed is the 1952 goal of the present utility drive."

But the shrewdest bit of recent trickery is the attempt by the private electric utilities of the Northwest to set up a power grid for the area now served by the Bonneville Power Administration. This scheme is revealed in a letter addressed by a Portland real-estate manager, Gerard MacNamara, to every member of Congress. He accommodatingly enclosed a draft of a proposed bill which will undoubtedly be introduced in Congress this session. The power-grab proposal seeks to divest the Bonneville Administration of the function of building transmission lines and distributing energy. It would establish a non-profit corporation to be known as the Northwest Power Marketing Grid, with membership consisting of distribution agencies—public, private and co-operative. All US electric facilities in the region, with the exception of dams and generating equipment, would be turned over to the grid within two years of the completion of a rate schedule approved by the Federal Power Commission.

Of the 11-man board of directors, eight would be elected at the first annual meeting of the board—the other three would be named, one each, by the Army Corps of Engineers, the Commissioner of Reclamation and the REA. Three of the members would be public or co-op members of the grid; three would be tied to private utilities; and two would come from other walks of life. But a "gimmick" would give the three private-utility representatives veto power. At least one of the three would have to be at the meeting to constitute a quorum, and if the utility members acted in concert, they could always walk out before a vote was taken on a measure of which they disapproved.

In this and other current power fights, the utility companies have the US Chamber of Commerce as a strong ally. When President Truman pointed out that the private power interests' cry of "Socialism" is apparently based on the theory that "if you haven't got the facts, try a few scare words," A. L. Lynn of the C of C characteristically charged that the President was "trying to toss all Americans into the arms of Socialism."

The progress of the Interior Department in the field of public power during the last 20 years has continued in the face of such attacks largely because President Truman and Secretary Chapman—like their respective predecessors, Roosevelt and Ickes—believe that our resources should be used for the benefit of all the people, not for the private-power companies. The annual appropriation for the public-power segment of the Interior Department has grown from $26.3 million in 1932 to an estimated $186.7 million for 1952. The revenues returned to the Treasury from Interior's power operations (which do not include TVA) have increased from $674,626 to $7.6 million per annum in the same period. In 1932, the Interior projects generated a total of 48,220 kilowatts in its power plants; today, the annual generating capacity is reaching the five million kilowatt mark.

Those who pity the poor power companies in competition with "big government," should study these comparative statistics. The private utilities net operating revenues in 1932 were $662 million; in 1950, $966 million. The gross electric operating revenues increased from $1,640 million in 1932 to $4,497 million in 1950. The generating capacity of the private companies has climbed from 32 million kilowatts to 54 million kilowatts in the same period.

But still, the greater the expansion of the Interior Department's public-power program, the louder the private-power companies protest—despite the fact that their own expansion and profit figures show no signs of suffering.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM ISRAEL: *Go South, Young Man*

OF ISRAEL'S 8,000 square miles—about the size of New Jersey—over half is taken up by the Negev, the long triangular desert which stretches south to the Egyptian border and to Elath on the Gulf of Aquaba. The Negev has good earth, rich minerals, great possibilities but no water; yet to the extent to which it can be exploited will depend much of Israel's future prosperity. However, only the northern plateau, and perhaps parts of the Wadi Araba—the sub-tropical valley between the Dead and the Red Seas—are cultivable. The rest is mountainous and arid.

Three years ago, in the spring of 1949, the northern Negev was a battleground. Burnt-out trucks, some twisted trees and thin patches of shriveled scrub-grass relieved the monotony of the low parched hills. Beersheba, the Negev's dusty capital and the largest town south of Jerusalem, was bleak and deserted. The few Arab villages were empty and their mud-built houses crumbling to the ground. A handful of lonely Jewish settlements became isolated strongpoints behind the Arab lines.

Now in the spring of 1952 the northern Negev is green. Water has been brought south in pipelines, wells have been dug, and experiments are being made to dam winter rains which normally flood down to the sea from the Hebron hills. Lack of water is compensated to some extent by very heavy dews, and good crops of grain have already been harvested. In three years, dozens of settlements have been built, trees and vegetables planted; the war-torn roads have been repaired and widened and new roads laid.

But living in the Negev is tough, and the Jewish Agency, planning new towns and villages, finds it hard to persuade immigrants to people them. The summer is oppressively hot, the winter cold and windy. Water is still scarce, work is arduous and life rugged and simple. Most immigrants from Europe, accustomed to town life, want to settle near the sprawling cities of Tel Aviv and Haifa; while those from the Middle East and North Africa have come to Israel partly to escape the desert. Fortunately, however, there are exceptions, and it is not only the local born *sabras* who are pushing Israel's civilized frontier further south. Several flourishing oriental communities have been established, and one group of immigrants from Kurdistan—men with fierce beards and flashing eyes—are building their own village. At another settlement young boys and girls (few of whom have been in the country) may combine compulsory military service with pioneering work on the land.

Beersheba itself has now the swaggering appearance of a Western frontier town. With the exception of some new concrete apartment buildings rising white and incongruously out of the desert, the houses are old and squat; but the atmosphere is vigorous. Instead of the horses of the Wild West, settlers of Israel's Sultry South tear into town on Jeeps, kicking up dust as they hurtle round the corner, past the military post into "Main Street," with its small bars and cafes, its crude open-air theatre and its shops. Instead of Apaches, Beersheba has Arabs: friendly Arabs from Bedouin camps who come to town to trade; but at night the district is a smugglers paradise, and there is a spirited nocturnal traffic across the border in meat and sugar and dollars and oil. Much of this finds its way onto the thriving black market in Beersheba, where one can order smuggled steak at almost any restaurant, and buy black-market chocolate and butter and coffee in the streets.

South of Beersheba rise the Arizona-like mountains of the Negev, whittled into fantastic shapes by the sand-blasting winds and winter floods. There are frequent reports of great mineral wealth hidden in these hills—of copper and iron and phosphates and ball-clay—even of oil. To what extent these reports are true, and to what extent the deposits are commercially exploitable is not certain, but prospects are good. Yet potash from the Dead Sea has always been a valuable export, and a new road to S'dom has been dynamited through the hard-rock hills to bring the potash to the ports more quickly.

At the southern tip of the Negev, a few miles from Jordan's Aqaba, the small town of Elath is being developed. Cutting any land route between Egypt and the rest of the Arab states, it holds a vital strategic position. When communications improve, Elath may well have an important future as Israel's Red Sea port for trade to the East and from fishing in the rich waters of the Gulf of Aqaba.

Jerusalem DAN SAMUEL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE MODERN SHAKESPEARE

by Eric Bentley

V

[This is the last of the Shakespeare series by Mr. Bentley, who essayed in Part I (April 28) the "modern" movement from Granville Barker to Margaret Webster; in Part II (May 5) under-interpretation and over-interpretation—our Scylla and Charybdis; in Part III (May 12) realistic interpretation—Uta Hagen in Shaw's *St. Joan* and Alec Guinness in *Hamlet;* and in Part IV (May 26) realistic interpretation—Anthony Quayle's productions of the History Plays at Stratford on Avon.—The Editors.]

IF MR. QUAYLE cannot be said to have realized the full potentialities of the history plays, his directing—unlike that of the Old Vic director six years ago—did suggest what those potentialities are and did encourage one to take whatever realism it did have as a sign of incipient revolt. I am far from regarding such a revolt as an immediate certainty. It is hard to see what forces in England at the moment would compel so radical a change. Perhaps the "modern" Shakespeare must have its decadence. There is certainly plenty of other decadence in European theatre for it to join hands with—the most obvious brand being the current school of rococo effeminacy represented in different ways by a host of artists.

As for realism, I am not offering it as a panacea but only as a timely banner—modern, without quotation marks—under which Shakespeare might be more seriously interpreted. It appropriately suggests that one should start with the simplest, solidest rudiments. And here the operative word is *start*. For those whose eyes are troubled by the scented tear gas of decadence—agreeable as it may be to the nostrils—today is a time to go back to the beginnings and realize that, in taking another look, we are seeing things for the first time. We must be content to rediscover the Shakespearean ABC. Let a director ask himself the naivest questions of each scene—What is Gloucester doing to Lady Anne? How does she react?—and to the degree that he answers them in action, forthrightly, clearly, he will find himself a revolutionary.

Given this humble, yet deliberate and determined, approach, there would be a chance for Shakespeare in America too. This time one would not simply attach oneself to respectable British coattails; the fact that Britain has more of a Shakespeare tradition does not provide a solution for America, all the less so if that tradition is out at elbow. Admittedly, American productions done without British help have been even worse than those dominated by British visitors. And the limitations of the purely American Shakespeareans are notorious: Orson Welles has devoted a considerable part of his career to making them so. In the thirties he went in for adolescent over-interpretation of the political sort; only the other day a poverty-stricken Freudian "bright idea" was engaging the earnest attention of his film company: is not the secret of the story that Iago was in love with Othello?

Crude spirits are no valid American equivalent for seasoned European wine, and the rags and tatters of a modern education are no substitute for intelligence. Nonetheless, Welles has some value as a bomb thrown into the plush upholstery of the official Shakespeareans. He reminds us that Burbage did not speak BBC English. Seeing Welles at his best one is tempted to say that to this Hamlet few British actors could play anything but Osric.

If an individual such as Orson Welles has the Elizabethan flamboyance and robustness, a whole generation of American actors has been trained in a vivid realism that is not un-Elizabethan either. In fact, outside musicals, the American theatre today offers only one highly developed form of work—the social realism which the Group Theatre did more than any other unit to promote. If I am right in believing realism to be the remedy in the theatre of today, my conclusion is obvious: throw the Shakespeareans out and bring the realist actors in.

No one is foolish enough to suppose that actors trained exclusively on Odets, Williams, and Miller would be able to speak and move in Shakespeare without more ado. The fact simply is that these actors have higher technical standards than your Shakespeareans and that they assume a meaning and play it. Above all, the everyday reality which they have learned to play is closer to Shakespeare, and is therefore a better starting point even for his most fantastic works, than the hopeless unreality of the official elocution in the Oxford accent. Whatever critics, including myself, may say against the directing of Elia Kazan, it is clear that no show of his would ever be put before an audience in the lamentable condition of most Shakespeare productions—unfinished and unfinishable because lacking in style and meaning: when you are not going in any particular direction no one will believe you have a destination. If Arthur Miller were produced as we produce Shakespeare, none of his plays would ever have come into New York from Philadelphia. If Shakespeare were produced as we produce Miller, no one would need a professor to tell him who is the more entertaining author.

The creation of an American Shakespeare tradition cannot be achieved from outside—by importing actors or, to take up another current heresy, by switching to arena theatre. Shakespeare did not write for the arena theatre and neither have other major dramatists. The human face has only three sides, not four, and it is sounder to exploit this fact than to flout it. It is exploited by any stage which has a back wall; and it is the back wall that makes possible a stage picture.

The idea of reviving the Elizabethan stage—brilliantly re-stated recently in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ronald Watkins' book *On Producing Shakespeare* (New York: Norton, 1952) —has to be taken more seriously. Its three-sidedness and the cunning arrangement of its seven playing-areas make it the finest theatrical instrument ever devised. There is every reason to use such an instrument wherever—Westport seems the most likely place at present—anyone can be persuaded to construct it, and there is no reason why the realistic tendency, as I have defined it, should not continue there.

The only mistake would be the classic one of believing in salvation from without. No external fittings can create great theatre. The task in hand is the training of actors. The starting point is not the foolish and pretentious floundering that passes for Shakespearean production but the more human—if more hundrum — realism of regular modern performance. For if Shakespeare is always modern, a modern style—if it is really modern and really a style—will always render his intent better than any archaism.

WITH VISION AND GRACE

THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY: Papers and Addresses of Learned Hand, edited by Irving Dilliard (Knopf; $3.50).

JUDGE LEARNED HAND belongs to the great American tradition. Within him are reflected the ideals, the aspirations and the emotions which characterize the democratic, humane instincts of a free society. He possesses knowledge, without which an individual cannot truly be free. He possesses wisdom, without which an individual cannot properly use the knowledge he may have. And he possesses compassion, without which an individual cannot properly relate his wisdom and knowledge to the world about him. But most of all, he possesses the ability to question his own first principles, to search out the truth wherever it may seem to lead.

The legal profession has long recognized these virtues in Judge Hand, now a man of eighty summers. Only gradually has the general public come to appreciate his great cultural and libertarian depths. It has now fallen to Irving Dilliard, editorial editor of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, to focus public attention still more intently on the non-legal addresses and papers of this moving democratic voice. Included within this collection of thirty-four papers are discourses on Americanism, democracy, liberty and justice, as well as tributes to such judicial giants as Holmes, Cardozo, Brandeis, Hughes and Stone.

Learned Hand's background was one imbued with the hard work of understanding the nature of mankind. At Harvard he lived in the philosophical atmosphere of James, Santayana and Royce, while he absorbed the legal lore of such masters as Langdell, Ames, Thayer and Gray. A relatively short period of law practice followed. Then came his appointment to the federal District Court in New York in 1909, at the judicially tender age of thirty-seven. Fifteen years later he was elevated to the federal Court of Appeals in New York. There he was destined to stay until his technical retirement in 1951. The Supreme Court was a goal desired but never achieved. For one reason or another the high court appointment always eluded him. But so esteemed was he in the eyes of the legal world that he was frequently referred to as the tenth Justice of the Supreme Court. His opinions commanded respect even by those who disagree with his conclusions.

The Dilliard collection of his non-legal writings reveals much of the true nature of this legal seer. Hand is one of those rare individuals who is able to grasp at the meaning of life with the insight and vision of a poet. Yet he never takes himself too seriously. He salts his philosophy with an earthy sense of humor. He holds his beliefs with a passionate fervor, but he abhors fanaticism and abstains from over-enthusiasm. His liberalism cuts deep; still, he is able to detach his own views from the judicial work at hand to a remarkable degree. His writings, a delight to stylists, are studded with literary and classical allusions. But they have none of the stilted or arch characteristics so frequently found in the style of those steeped in the classics. There are numerous quotable epigrams and sentences reminiscent in many ways of those of Justice Holmes. And there is a complete absence of the insufferable cuteness and coyness employed by some of the latter-day attempts to follow the Holmes technique of composition.

But the lasting contribution of this collection is to be found more in its substance than in its style. Learned Hand has discovered what all must discover who would unlock the true spirit of liberty. He has found that skepticism rather than dogmatism is the key to human freedom. The fires of his wisdom and experience have burned into him the truth of Oliver Cromwell's plea just before the Battle of Dunbar: "I beseech ye in the bowels of Christ, think that ye may be mistaken."

Once man has learned that his own views, however deeply held, may conceivably be wrong and that others may be right, he has hurdled the mental and moral block in the path of individual freedom. Too few people are even interested in surmounting that block. Most of them prefer to impose their stereotyped ideas on their fellow men and to compel conformity thereto. Freedom to them is a dangerous thing that must be subdued in the name of natural morality and law. Learned Hand's gentle, wise words are a refreshing reaction to that tendency, which has brought so much grief to the world. He has reminded us once more that liberty

> rests in the hearts of men, in the belief that knowledge is hard to get, that man must break through again and again the thin crust on which he walks, that the certainties of today may become the superstitions of tomorrow; that we have no warrant of assurance save by everlasting readiness to test and test again.

This lesson has been taught by all the wise masters in history. It is not a lesson that teaches that one must forego beliefs in which one has unquenchable faith. Rather it teaches that those beliefs should be held with a healthy skepticism, that the views of others should be respected and welcomed, and that the truth will likely come out of the clash of these conflicting ideas in the free market place of experience. Only in such a climate can human liberty fulfill its ultimate purpose. EUGENE GRESSMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AT ODDS WITH PLATO

THE ART OF TEACHING, by Gilbert Highet (Knopf; $3.50).

PROFESSOR HIGHET'S study of teaching "is not," he tells us, "a book of educational theory, but a book of suggestions drawn from practice." The writer of it believes that "Teaching is an art, not a science." He explains that "Teaching is not like inducing a chemical reaction: it is much more like painting a picture or making a piece of music, or on a lower level like planting a garden or writing a friendly letter. You must throw your heart into it, you must realize that it cannot be done by formulas, or you will spoil your work, your pupils, and yourself." That supposed opposition between "caring" for what you do and "thinking" about it is the crucial issue of the book, taken as an argument.

The style of the book is gay, fresh, provocative and yet deeply serious. It deserves and requires careful reading and criticism. Mr. Highet's "suggestions" range into every phase of teaching activity, whether within the class-room or outside it. The discussions of teaching done by parents and by "great men" seem to this reviewer especially significant. But at every point the keen and cultivated reflections are worthy of consideration by all students of education, however "scientific."

The writer of *The Republic* was, also, an artist in teaching. He, too, had "thrown his heart" into it. But he had also tried to "understand," to "formulate" it intellectually. Plato had no faith in "suggestions drawn from practice" unless they were justified by reasonable theory. And, on this ground, he made the famous—or infamous—proposal that such "poets" as Mr. Highet should be banished from his Ideal Society. He did not, I am sure, wish to exclude them from an actual society. On the contrary, they were the constant companions of his thinking. But, ideally, they were not, for him, reliable teachers.

At this point, it is only fair to add that Mr. Highet says equally strong words of condemnation about the teaching of Plato. With respect to "method," it is true, he finds the "Dialogues" to be excellent. But with respect to content, their effect is found to be disastrous. In a word, Plato teaches bad doctrine, but he teaches it very well. In this vein, we are told that "Few of us admire or believe the doctrines which Plato taught. All of us must admire the methods by which he taught them." And, again, "Obviously what Plato taught was—so far as politics are concerned—anti-democratic and narrow-minded and at the end both sad and bad." Mr. Highet is saying, I think, that Plato was a Fascist.

The writer of this review believes that, on the whole, Mr. Highet misinterprets Plato's political theorizing. Relatively speaking, the founder of the Academy was not "narrow-minded." And his contribution to the theory of free institutions has not, I think, been excelled by any other Western thinker. But, however that may be, Mr. Highet has eloquently thrust upon our attention the problem of the relation between artistic creation and reflective understanding, as seen in the field of education. His book is good reading. And, in a time dominated by "scientific" enthusiasms, it is genuinely significant.

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN

AT ONE WITH PLATO

ESSAYS IN CRITICISM, by E. Jordan (The University of Chicago Press; $7).

THE COLLECTION of essays by Mr. Jordan, perhaps because they are all by one man, is highly controversial; indeed his book might even be called cantankerous; for he is against all modern art, criticism and philosophy; or, rather, he denies that there is any modern art, criticism or philosophy: "The philosohy of the literary people turns out to be psychology, and bad psychology at that, even when its prostitution does not go so far as Freudianism." And the attempts to objectify as art "'the stream of consciousness' leads to the absurd and irrational piffle of *Ulysses* and to almost the same sad silliness in the great James and the glorified Mann. The same attempt in modern poetry comes to a blatant grief in Pound and Eliot and almost the whole of contemporary poetry."

"Subjectivism" is for Professor Jordan the prime villain, who has split life into "stream of consciousness" on the one hand and the endless conveyor belt of mechanized industry on the other. It is the business of the philosopher to root it out "ever since Coleridge got to snooping around in German transcendentalism and its darkling inwardness . . . " Professor Jordan's Idol is the Cultural Whole, which he personifies blindly as the Corporate Person—the ultimate Individuality. But his subjectivistic villain is often a straw man; he seems to forget, for instance, Husserl's remark that "all consciousness is consciousness *of* something"; and no careful reader of *Ulysses* will in the end call that book subjective; it is, in fact, quite the opposite, and Mr. Jordan could not have picked a worse example.

I have purposely taken hold of Professor Jordan's doctrine by the wrong end, because its positive virtue can hardly be dealt with in the brief space of a review and the crochets, desperations, and sentimentalities of the author must somehow be got out of the way if one is to understand the seriousness and the tragic dignity of Professor Jordan's thought (despite what seems to be a strangely inveterate blindness to the intrinsic value of individual "points of view").

Professor Jordan is a Platonist who would assign to the poet a place in his Republic nearest the philosopher: "The poet demonstrates that there is in the Word, operating as a creative agency, a significance and a worth incarnate in the nature of things that can give itself expression; it is not his to show that language has been given us but that language has given us a world." This "implication to the world" is a constant motive throughout these essays and in Professor Jordan's work as a whole; but the "world" for Professor Jordan must be real in every possible sense including the simplest and most obvious:

> Poetry is not made of images but of objects. . . . The symbolist fails to make this distinction. Consequently, there are no realities for him other than the images

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

themselves, and, as he cannot convince himself that they are genuinely real, he either denies the real world and becomes a pessimist and unrealist or attempts to construct a real world out of the figments of his imagination for his images to conform to.

Thus the value of each object made by the artist lies in its "reference to its place in the cultural system." But the cultural system, according to Jordan, as according to Thomas Hardy who is one of the very few modern authors admitted by Jordan, can never fit perfectly into the scheme of the universe, and from this defect comes tragedy, which is the "real basis of art in all its forms."

In the general modern dialectic over art and morals, Professor Jordan's book goes well with an old volume of essays by Herbert Read called *Poetry and Anarchism*. RUDD FLEMING

OF PITY AND INNOCENCE

THE SEVEN-LEAGUE CRUTCHES, by Randall Jarrell (Harcourt, Brace; $2.75).

RANDALL JARRELL'S verse has the "tears of things" in it. It has been linked to Wilfred Owen's poetry of pity, though Owen was simpler and more direct in his nonconformist-pacifist idealism. Jarrell concerns himself less with systematic, patterned injustice in nature or society than with the vulnerable and helpless sensibility of innocence. His best poems often interpret the tragic confusions of children and soldiers in traumatic crises as instances of an unbridgeable contradiction between the operations of the human mind and those of the strange outer world. Myth, hallucination and "realistic" observation converge in these examples to produce a heightened awareness under shock-pressure of the impersonal cruelty of that world, an unoriented awareness that

Behind everything there is always
The unknown unwanted life.

On an earlier poem, "The Death of the Ball Turret Gunner," this fusion of subjective responses produced an almost unbearably poignant emotional precision. The reader had no choice: his secret mind was deeply troubled and not directed toward itself, and the recognitions that followed were almost physical ones. So too, in the present volume, the fantasy life and dream imagery of children seek to absorb the painful facts of experience:

When the swans turned my sister into a swan
I would go to the lake, at night, from milking:
The sun would look out through the reeds like a swan,
A swan's red beak; and the beak would open
And inside there was darkness, the stars and the moon.

or:

All the graves of the forest
Are opened, the scaling face
Of a woman—the dead mother—
Is square in the steam of a yard. . . .

Still, Jarrell does try to push past the sense of strangeness, to arrive at meaning in the more objective sense of the term. When he does so, he is not as successful as in the more opaque, self-contained monologues of innocence. His bravest effort outward, "Hohensalzburg: Variations on a Theme of Romantic Character," employs romantic whimsy and imagination in combination with supernatural linkings of love and death to get at a tenuous religious-metaphysical truth behind the strangeness. As in "A Conversation with the Devil" and other poems, the "argument" here is facile, sentimental, and somehow uncommitted and the poem is saved from disaster by and with emotional subtlety; they, and not the motivations of the poem, establish its values. Jarrell is a romantic idealist, but the fact is not decisive; the convention is, I think, the only one he has so far found usable to rationalize the ungloved sympathy with vulnerability that is the real key to his finest work. (It is interesting that in a recent essay on Whitman he has disregarded the rhetorical and political associations by which the latter transcends the contradictions of will and fate and has stressed his concrete sense of the strangeness of things, the "magic" way in which he is "faithful to the feel of things, to reality as it seems." The essential difference between the two poets' outlooks may nevertheless be pinned down by comparing Jarrell's lovely, unworldly "A Soul" with Whitman's lusty, affirming "I believe in you, my soul.")

Despite all qualifications, however, this volume is Jarrell's most solid achievement; there is more full-bodied poetry in it than in the earlier books, and he takes more chances. The translations and adaptations from Corbière and Rilke reveal an outward movement more in accordance with his genius than are the poems that "argue" explicity. Corbière's "Le Poète Contumace," somewhat softened by Jarrell's italics and idiomatic phrasings, gives a wider range of reference to the concern with isolated, suffering sensibility; his "Rondels pour Après" come through with their heart-breaking "acceptance" heightened, their irony just reduced. In Rilke's, "The Olive Garden," Jarrell has responded to Christ as a lonely one, the type of man's need for a miracle, the German poet's identification of the sign that does not come.

This craftwork has produced in Jarrell a new mastery that allows him to use a wide variety of forms, from the oddly humorous "Nollkens" to the intense essay in humility called "Jonah." *The Seven-League Crutches* is one of the finest books of poems printed in a very fine year. M. L. ROSENTHAL

A FICTIVE REPORT

THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE KOREAN WAR, by I. F. Stone (Monthly Review Press; 5).

OUR GOVERNMENT, Stone asserts, knew that the war in Korea was coming. It could have prevented it by alerting the US. Instead it remained silent *and thereby brought war on*, because war fitted in with our plans. "It is as if the stage was set with masterly care," says Stone in describing the confused comings and goings in the spring of 1950. "After May 11 *as if by agreement*," he adds, "the South Korean Government also kept silent on the danger." Stone asks, "Was the war Stalin's blunder or was it MacArthur's plan? Did the attack begin from the North? Or could it be that with the scene set and the ensuing political strategy planned the Northern attack was deliberately provoked?" Stone implies that the latter is the truth.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The US acted because it was "deceived." The UN acted because it was "stampeded" by the US. The Communists wanted peace at all times. But "MacArthur drowned out the quiet voices that still were urging mediation and peace." We kept the war going because Truman feared that the Communists would win in free elections in Korea and when the war seemed to be dying out, we plotted to bring the Chinese in. MacArthur's action in spreading his troops out and denying them all liaison was not oversight or arrogance. It was omniscient guile. MacArthur's purpose, in this blunder which led to countless casualties "was not to fall into a trap but to arrange one." Stone even suspects evil doing by MacArthur when he withdrew his smashed and beaten troops. "This was not the usual procedure," Stone complains. "The Eighth Army not only ran but seemed determined to show the enemy just where to chase it so that it would be forced to continue its strategic withdrawals."

In the next issue of
THE JEWISH NEWSLETTER
1. *Is Jewish nationalism different from others?*
2. A new chapter in the Jewish Labor movement.
3. A Fascist law in Israel.
4. News Review, Book Reviews, and other regular features.

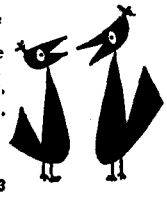
THE JEWISH NEWSLETTER
A bi-weekly review in the fifth year of its existance devoted to independent individualistic thinking and free discussion of Jewish problems.
Liberal • Non-conformist • Outspoken
Write for FREE introductory copies to
POST OFFICE BOX 117
Washington Bridge Station
New York 33, N. Y.

SCHOOL

MANUMIT SCHOOL
• Boys and girls 6-18 develop individuality in free creative atmosphere. intercultural. College preparatory. Dramatics, art, music, sciences, mathematics. 80-acre farm in Bucks County between New York and Philadelphia. Friendly, informal, homelike. Healthful outdoor life. Horses. Summer camp. Catalog.
W. M. and B. G. C. FINCKE, Co-Directors,
Box R, R. F. D. No. 2, Bristol, Pennsylvania

PERSONAL

exit loneliness
Somewhere there is someone you would like to know.
Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you.
We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.'
Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. N.R., 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



At this point, MacArthur wanted to evacuate all Korea. Military weakness was not a factor. His reason, Stone reveals, was that total defeat in Korea would make peace impossible while, if UN forces remained on Korea," it would become almost impossible to keep peace from breaking out." Foiled in this scheme, MacArthur fell back on fabricating incidents to sabotage the truce talks. "Tokyo Headquarters," Stone asserts, "were still dragging out an obscene farce while Truman in his conversations with Churchill paved the way for extension of the war to China."

Stone concludes, to bolster our baseless fears: "While the arms race and the attendant inflation were ruining America's allies, American leadership was still gripped by dread of the consequence of peace upon the economy. This dread was dictating the actions of the politicians and the business leaders."

There are grave questions to be asked about Korea. Stone has not asked them. There are sharp criticisms to be made of MacArthur; they are not helped by caricature. Dissent is a tonic in an age of conformism. But this is not reasoned dissent.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

THREE YOUNG QUARTETS

by Robert Evett

IN THE UNITED STATES, chamber music has had the useless and rather unflattering reputation of being esoteric until recent years. A composer can profit from such a reputation, because originality and incomprehensibility seem to be hopelessly confused in the public mind; a performing medium, especially when it offers very little novelty, is described as inaccessible only when it seems dull. It seems to me that most of the string quartets which dominated American chamber music before the last war brought this reputation upon themselves in three ways; by limiting their repertory to a few great but extremely familiar works; by developing an inflexible style of playing which, however elegant, was not always appropriate; and by allowing inferior performers to play the inner parts. Many of the European quartets, even the best ones, are constantly being thrown off pitch by a bad second violinist, and it is hard to find a good player who will happily spend his life playing the relatively unrewarding secondary parts. Also many quartets have had to limit their programs out of deference to the deficiencies of some of their members. One exceptional group, the Paganini Quartet, introduced such vitality into its playing that it constituted a real threat to the stuffy standard during the middle forties. Several years ago, this quartet was terribly damaged by the death of its cellist, Robert Maas, and has not yet regained its superiority.

The high standard of the Paganini Quartet has been met and sometimes surpassed by several recently organized American quartets. Some of these, such as the LaSalle Quartet of Colorado College, have not yet come into prominence while others have been conspicuously successful. These quartets are made up of young men who have been trained, and who qualify, for careers as virtuoso soloists. It can be very difficult for such people to play together, as they must develop a rapport which becomes almost an identity on matters of taste and style before they can begin to operate as a unit. These young players have made their adjustment very well, with the result that each of the new quartets has a characteristic identity of its own.

The Juilliard Quartet has been the most successful of the new groups, and its success is largely deserved, as the quartet sounds very good. It has become customary to attack the Juilliard Quartet for playing the standard repertory in an unconventional way, without reporting that the players sometimes bring vitality to classical pieces that have become very tired over a period of time. The conventional playing of Mozart and Beethoven has erred stylistically in trying to establish grace and elegance where roughness might be more suitable. The fallacy of such stylized playing is that it fails to accommodate itself to the versatility of the composer. In its early days, the Juilliard Quartet presented new but equally stylized readings of the standard works. The players tended to exaggerate tempo and dynamics in the hope of finding brilliance, often in lyrical works, such as Mozart's *M major*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Quartet, K. 499. This approach was far from satisfactory, and the quartet has modified its extravagant reading of the classical literature.

The quartet seems to be most comfortable in the outrageously difficult modern pieces that they have introduced and played extensively. Before their time, playing groups were so apathetic to modern work that writing a quartet became a luxury. Such a huge literature of unheard quartets has grown up that the Juilliard Quartet has given most of its attention to the Central European literature, and music related to it. This music includes the work of such diverse composers as Schoenberg and Bartok, who resemble each other only in that their quartets are like quadruple concerti, taxing the skill of each player to a degree that is almost never found in earlier music. It is also represented by pieces which are distinguished, *à la* Weiniawski, only by their great difficulty. Although the Juilliard players have introduced much good and unreasonably neglected music, they have not shown any embarrassment about performing empty show-pieces that are couched in reputedly advanced idioms. Because I like to hear this quartet play, I have often regretted the fact that the players neglect so much of the expert but less spectacular modern literature.

The Walden Quartet, which is in residence at the University of Illinois, offers a much wider representation of contemporary music. If the Waldens have specialized at all, it is in music which, for one reason or another, is out of fashion at present; they have been particularly active champions of Robert Palmer and Walter Piston, and have brought unfamiliar European scores into the US. They have not always shown great discrimination; their particular brand of catholic taste is much broader than mine, and I have been bored by their programming occasionally. As an important innovation, the Waldens have included works for fewer than four instruments on their programs, and also participate in larger groups, with the result that their concerts offer a gratifying variety of sonority and color. Their preference for conservative moderns does not interfere with their playing of the standard repertory or of the Central European literature and, like the Juilliard Quartet, their performance standard is very high.

Lacking the security of academic subsidy, the New Music Quartet has entered the field at a time when performance fees are relatively low and competition is growing increasingly severe. It is paradoxical that this group, instead of appealing to popular taste, has built its reputation on a repertory that should challenge the most experienced listener. In addition to playing all of the standard works, these musicians have explored the pre-Haydn literature, and have revived important pieces from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Their unusual sensitivity to the stylistic implications of widely diverse types of music allows them to project the richness of Berg, the austerity of John Cage, the brilliance of Bartok, and the straight-forwardness of Harris with equal sureness.

Because of its great variety in programming, the New Music Quartet has been accused of assuming the wrong name. Its main claim to newness lies ostensibly in the fact that most of the music it plays is unfamiliar—and the quartets of Mendelssohn, Verdi and Scarlatti are as new in this sense as the music of Berg and Webern. But its actual originality is most apparent, at least to me, in its performance of the exhausted classics. This quartet has gone to some trouble to arrive at authentic readings of this music, in which all of the composer's written instructions are strictly observed. This kind of performance sometimes violates a long aural tradition, but it can bring a freshness to classical pieces that any listener should welcome. Generally, musicians are not fully aware of the dangers of over-interpretation, and such performers as the New Music Quartet should help to correct this situation.

Although the New Music, Walden and Juilliard Quartets differ considerably on matters of style, they are alike in that they demand expert performance from all concerned, and have done a great service to chamber music by revitalizing the quartet repertory.

OUT OF YOUR IGLOO
OPENING MAY 29th
Swing Into Spring!
SPECIAL SPRING RATES
EASY TO REACH BY BUS, TRAIN OR TAXI SERVICE
★ All Sports ★ Fine Foods
★ Full Entertainment Staff
★ New Exciting Accommodations in THE STUDIO HOUSE
...and the nicest people ever...
A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS
CHESTERS ZUNBARG
WOODBOURNE, N.Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150

MERRIEWOODE
A CAMP FOR ADULTS
Highland Lake • Stoddard, N. H.
Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation • Enjoy beautiful 10-mile lake • All Land and Water Sports, featuring Water Skiing and Excellent Tennis • Interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails • Horseback riding available • Arts and Crafts • Square and Folk Dancing Instructions.
OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Write: Dept. R for Literature Phone: Hancock 98 Ring 13

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, records, sports, ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. OPEN MAY 23
Pre-Season $45.00 weekly; $7.00 Daily
JANE C. ARENZ, R.D. No. 1, Walden, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 115 W 2
65 Miles from N. Y.

MERRYMEETING-IN-MAINE. picturesque country INN and Cabins. Mountain view; spring-fed lake for swimming, boating; boat trips and picnics on the sea nearby; square dancing. From $7 daily with meals. Send for picture folders. **Duane Doolittle, Box N, Lincolnville, Maine.**

Stonegate LODGE
ON LONG LAKE, N. Y.
Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks
Charming Estate—Limited to 90—Pollen free
Folk-Sq. Dances—Concert Trio—Dance Band
Motorboating—14 Mile Lake—All Sports
Spec. Bachelor Club Rate—Fine Food
N.Y. Off 250 W. 57th Circle 6-6386
Red. Rates to July 12th Louis A. Roth, Dir.

SUMMER RENTALS—WESTCHESTER

PRIVATE, FURNISHED COTTAGES, modern improvements, in genuine country surroundings. Pool, handball, etc. Congenial, mature, family clientele, pleasant social life. 3-4 rooms, $490 up. Long season. Easy commuting, deliveries. Oakridge Cottages, Old Trolley & Red Mill Roads near Oregon Corners, Peekskill Vicinity. Fo-7-1329 weekdays to noon and 6-8 PM, or Lakeland 8-4236.

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N ST., N.E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REPRINTS NOW AVAILABLE

FOR CLASSROOMS, ORGANIZATIONS,
STUDY GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS

"THE POWER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS"

by

JUSTICE

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

A call for a dynamic world policy based on US ideals and the aspirations of people overseas

William O. Douglas

Adlai E. Stevenson

ADLAI E. STEVENSON

A Summary of His Views on . . .

Loyalty, Foreign Policy, Labor and Inflation, McCarthyism, Crime and Local Self-Government.

The ideas and convictions of outstanding liberal leaders are needed for the guidance of voters in a Presidential year. For this reason the *New Republic* has reprinted Gov. Stevenson's views on some issues of national concern. Justice Douglas' plea for a dynamic foreign policy (*NR*, April 28) has already been acclaimed by our readers as one of the finest articles published in the *New Republic* in many years. Both of these articles have been reprinted and are now available for widespread distribution. Just cut out the order form below and order your copies TODAY!

Reprint Prices:

Single copies . . .	10c
50 copies . . .	$3
100 copies . . .	$5
225 copies . . .	$10
500 copies . . .	$20
1000 copies . . .	$35

(All prices cover postage)

THE NEW REPUBLIC,
40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

I am enclosing $..... for which send me.....copies of special reprint "Adlai E. Stevenson" and.....copies of special reprint of "The Power of Righteousness."

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....

6-5-52

The Charlotte State Library
EAST
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED